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II. HABITATION

361 [592] [177] THE ORIGINAL Tukuna habitation was a large, isolated, communal dwelling, *maloca*, occupied by more than one family. All settlements made up of a number of houses together, like Tabatinga, São José do Javary, and Caldeirão, owe their origin to Neobrazilian initiative and were so contrary to tribal custom that the complaint was always heard that the Tukuna did not want to be herded together but would spread out again through the jungle.

[611] [591] I have often been told by the Indians themselves that in such or such a place there was once a great maloca of this or that clan. I do not know how to interpret this statement, for though the clans of the Tukuna are patrilineal, the family is more matrilocal than patrilocal, so that only in very special circumstances would all the men of one maloca belong to the same clan. However, the clan tẽ'ma (Burity)—if, as tradition says, its members once spoke a language different from that of the other clans—might have been collectively localized.

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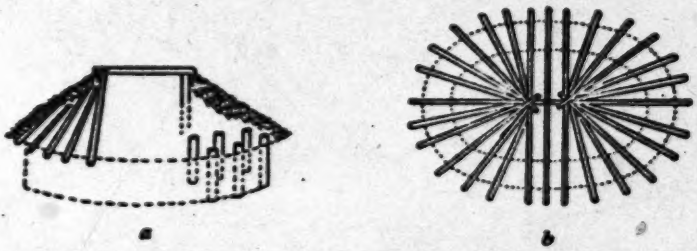

a *b*

Fig. 1. Maloca or communal dwelling. *a*. Sketch showing roof and interior construction. *b*. Plan of rafters.

HOUSES

These houses were apparently circular; actually, however, there was always a small, rectangular central section, with a semicircular roof bay at each end (fig. 1). The rafters of this rectangular section, which formerly was only some two or three meters long, rested on a short ridgepole supported by pillars or posts. At each end, a little below the ridgepole and in the angles formed by the two outer pairs of rafters, there was a small horizontal crossbeam fastened to the rafters, and upon this rested the rafters of the roof bay (fig. 1, *b*).

Two series of vertical supports divided the interior into two concentric parts, the inner series—at least, the highest and strongest—being of *ocapú* wood. The [824] house was covered with *carumã* thatching, the stems being intertwined and attached to a long lath of *paxiuba*[1] wood. The tips of the leaves were split and were also intertwined. The laths with the thatching attached were tied horizontally on the rafters with strips of the inner bark. For the first three or four years, at least, this covering was an absolutely impermeable protection from the tropical rains.

The walls, more or less the height of a man, were made of small poles of paxiuba wood, or of the same material as the roof. In a few houses the interstices were filled

[1] An exceedingly tough Amazonian palm (*Socratea exorrhiza*), the roots of which are so thorny that they are used to scrape manioc roots.

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two stones; the technique of making fire by the friction of two sticks was unknown.[1] The Tukuna described to me, also, how the ancients struck two stones (to'a-ẽiɲ'ã) together, catching the sparks in tinder of *taracuá*, a substance found in the nests of *tracuá* ants.

Some, however, still remember well the fire drill used for this purpose, which was made of white *envira* wood. The drill was a rod about sixty centimeters long, or a shorter piece enclosed in a stem of *canna brava*. The hearth was a small board of the same wood, which rested on two small sticks. The drill, rotated between the palms of the hands, pierced the little board, and the glowing powder fell through the hole upon the tinder beneath. This apparatus, say the Tukuna, was invented by the culture hero dyoi'.

Today, a wing of a parrot, forest turkey, buzzard, or royal hawk serves as a fire fan; the shaft is sometimes wrapped in a piece of cloth and covered with wax. Among the Tukuna I have never seen any fire fans of vegetable material, but the Neobrazilians and the Kokáma use them exclusively.

All the members of the family capable of working in the garden patch always bring kindling wood when they return. If, in spite of this, there is no kindling, special trips are made for it.

Fire tongs are unknown, but once I came across a sort of fork, formed of three branches stemming from a single point, which served to arrange the coals and to place upon them a piece of meat for roasting. The fork was especially made for this purpose and had already been in use for some time.

The platform supported on four stakes is never found in the kitchen where things are laid on the ground or are hung from wooden N-shaped hooks thrust into the roof thatch. These hooks sometimes end in a bird's head and are called ve'kl'ča (see p. 142). Some of the kitchens, however, have a small platform suspended from the roof, on which dried meat, bananas, and other foods are stored. Jugs, bowls, and plates have their places on an outside platform (giráu), at the side of the shed. The jars (l.g., *igaçabas*), even when empty, are kept in the kitchen. They are turned upside down when not in use, and it is customary to store fruits, and so forth, under them in order to keep the food away from domestic animals and bats.

Although the Tukuna habitually obtain their drinking and cooking water from a clean spot, such as the center of the current, it bothers them little if the filled containers remain for hours exposed to the rays of the burning sun. They drink little water, and one often finds the containers empty, but no one seems to feel the lack.

Utensils and containers.—All the Tukuna gourds, *cuias*, are made of shell of the gourd (*cuieira*) and are generally covered on the inner surface, or in a few rare instances on the outer surface as well, with a black lacquer of *cumatê* juice (fig. 2, *a*, *b*). Sometimes the outer surface is decorated with an indelible red paint, *urucú*, in a design of palm trees and animals. There are large hemispherical gourds, smaller elliptical ones, and little, narrow, long ones.

In the kitchen one always finds a number of wooden ladles and spoons, sometimes of a respectable size containing almost a half liter; these represent a post-Columbian

[1] Tessmann, p. 561.

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For the deer that invade the plantations, pitfalls (a:'maʲ) are dug to the depth of a meter and a half, a sharpened paxiuba stake being set vertically at the bottom. In a pitfall that I saw, a dog had died, and a few days later an alligator also fell into it.

Gathering

The gathering of wild fruits and the capture of animals that cannot properly be included under hunting are still carried on by both sexes; by men when the opportunity presents itself and by women on trips made for the purpose.

There are many varieties of edible wild fruits, although most have no economic importance, being no more than mere tidbits, like the pods of the *arara tucupy*, the seeds of which are covered with a thin layer of thick, sweet liquid. The only fruits of real economic importance are those of the four palms, burity (*Mauritia vinifera*), *bacabeira* (*Oenocarpus bacaba*), *patauá* (*Oenocarpus patauá*), and açahy (*Euterpe* sp.). All four species are common in the jungles of the Tukuna. During the period of gathering one always sees large earthenware vessels containing burity fruits soaked in a solution to make the rinds come off more easily, and the Indians constantly help themselves. The fruits of these four palms are then macerated in tepid water and a fatty drink is prepared by a process common among the Neobrazilians as well, the separation of the pulp from the stones by treading. The liquid is passed through a very fine sieve (va'iri-činʲ-ĵʷù, from va'ira, açahy). A sufficient quantity is then prepared so that the neighbors may be invited to drink also. The gathering of the fruits and the preparation of the beverage are feminine tasks.

The Tukuna are acquainted with the Brazil nut, or niggertoe, *castanha do Pará* (*Bertholletia excelsa*), but they eat only the kernels without preparing from them either milk or oil. Nino, an Indian of Igarapé da Rita, had planted near his house about ten such saplings, which were then bearing fruit.

The Tukuna will not eat toads, though they do not reject various species of frogs; they also eat beetle larvae, which are found in burity palms, and the queens of *saúva* ants (i.g., *içá; Atta cephalotes*) when they are swarming. Of the various kinds of honey the most appreciated is that of the wild bee, jandaíra. Bees are not raised at home.

Food

The most common food is fish, either boiled or freshly smoked and eaten with farinha (formerly with beijús). Seasoning is obtained by thrusting the fingertip into a small dish with crushed salt and pepper and then licking it. At present, the salt is bought from the Neobrazilians, but it is said that in the old days it was prepared from the ash from burned green marajá palm leaves.

Of fish, the Indian takes only as much as he can swallow at one gulp, picking it, with a rapid pinch of the fingers, from the common receptacle. In consequence, the piece of fish shortly assumes such a tattered appearance that it looks like nothing more than a dog's dinner.

When there is roast game, no one cuts himself a large piece, but each in turn seizes the meat, tears off a chunk with the teeth, and tosses the remainder back

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VII. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Clans

The tribe is divided into some thirty clans, grouped into moieties, whose names I could never discover; I shall therefore refer to them here simply as A and B. The Tukuna language has only one word, kja', for both tribe and clan. In Brazil, moiety A has fifteen clans, moiety B twenty-one. It is possible that in Colombia and Peru there are Tukuna clans that are not represented in Brazil. Descent is patrilineal. Members of different clans but of the same moiety deal with one another reciprocally as ma'i^{w}e, "brother" (vocative).

The Tukuna know that, whether in Peru, Colombia, or Brazil, they form a homogeneous and distinct people compared with the other Indian tribes or the Neo-American nations. However, they have never had the slightest political cohesion.

A certain feeling of solidarity unites clansmen, even extending to all the clans of the same moiety. At least I noticed that, if no other considerations were involved, in any problem the Indian would automatically place himself and his sympathies on the side of the members of his clan or moiety without, however, being morally obligated to aid them.

Of the fifteen clans of moiety A, twelve have the names of trees, two the names of insects, and one the name of a mammal.

Clans of Moiety A

Clan	Related Tree or Animal	Additional Correlation
a:'ru	auahy grande (*Thevetia* sp.)	dyɔ|'; acutipurá, squirrel (*Sciurus* sp.)
čĕ'vĕru	auahy pequeno (?), a bird	
na'i^{w}yɛɛ	saúva (*Atta* sp.), ant	Tessmann's "náika"
tɛ̨ku	saúva (another species?)	
čiva'	seringarana, a tree	a'i (onça *pintada*), spotted jaguar, Tessmann's "áika"
nĕ'/nɨ'	pau mulato, a tree (sp. ?)	nĕ'/ma suçuarana (*Felis concolor*)
čĕĕ'	acapú, tree (*Vouacapoua* sp.)	a'iru, dog
ĕ	genipapo (*Genipa* sp.)	dyɔ|'; acutipurá, squirrel, (*Sciurus* sp.) (another sp. ?)
pu'k|rĕ	muirapiranga (*Brosimum* sp.)	
ču^{w}a	caraná (*Mauritia carana*, Wall.)	
tĕ'ma	burity grosso (*Mauritia* sp.)	
va'ira	açahy (*Euterpe* sp.)	
a'i|anari	genipapo do igapó, tree (sp. ?)	
kĕ'turĕ	maracajá grande (*Felis pardalis*)	
ny^{w}ni^{w}ĕi	burity fino (*Mauritia* sp.)	

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614 Of the trees, five are identified with animals. Probably the clan kɛ̃'turɛ̃ (maracajá grande; *Felis pardalis*) is also to be identified with some tree, perhaps 616 with the pu'kirɛ̃, but of this I am not certain. The identification of trees with 824 mammals is due to the mystic Tukuna conception of the soul (naiⁿ-arɨ ma'-ṅ) 825 which certain trees possess. The tree's soul leaves it during the night in the form 774 of the animal with which the tree is identified, returning at daybreak. "a'i-kɨa' na iⁿiⁿ ya čiva'" ("Clan Jaguar is seringarana") or "a'i na iⁿiⁿ na-a'e ya čiva'" ("Seringarana has the soul of the painted jaguar"). In vain I tried to discover the reason for including the two clans having insect names with these clans that have tree names; no soul of a tree takes the saúva ant as its nocturnal form. Two informants told me independently that the relation between trees and saúva was that the ants were in the habit of crawling on trees.

614 All the clans of Moiety B have the names of birds.
616
825

Clans of Moiety B[1]

Clan	Related Bird	Additional Correlation
ta'u	toucan (*Rhamphastos* sp.)	
tuyuyu'	tujujú (*Tantalus loculator*)	
aivɛ̃'ru	urumutúm (*Nothocrax urumutum*)	
kaurɛ̃'	japihím (*Cassicus cela*, L. sp.)	
barɨ'	japú (*Ostinops decumanus*, Pall.)	
ãɔ̃'	arara vermelho (*Ara macao*)	
čara'	arara canindé (*Ara ararauna*)	
vɔɔ'	maracanã grande (*Ara maracana* ?)	
a'/ta	maracanã; another species (*Ara* sp. ?)	
vɛ̃ɛ'	parrot (*Amazona* sp.)	
ãu/ŋɛ̃	mutum cavallo (*Mitua mitu*)	Tessmann's "nɛ̃enoka"
mɔru	maracanã; another species (*Ara* sp. ?)	
ɛ̃'/ča	urubú rei (*Gypagus papa*)	
da:'vɨ	gavião real (*Thrassaetus harpya*)	
pu'a'ka	arapaço (*Nasica* sp.)	
ɔta'	chicken	
ɛ̃'/nã	parakeet (*Conurus* sp. ?)	
dyavɨru'	jaburú (*Mycteria americana*)	
ãŋ'u'a	socó (*Ardea* sp.) or maguary (*Ardea cocoi*)	

[824] The relations between the clan member and the tree or animal the name of which he bears are extremely few and do not follow any rule whatsoever.

304 It is clear that members of the macaw clans, čara' and vɔɔ', formerly used facial
614 tattooing in designs similar to the facial feathering of these birds. I did not suc-

[1] It will be noted that the author lists only 19 clans here, although he has previously referred to 21.—Ed.

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IV. MAGIC AND RELIGION

The Shaman

According to Bates, each Tukuna band "obeys [?] a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possesses its pagé or 'medicine-man' who fans their superstitions."[1] The impression I had was that magical knowledge constituted a prerequisite for the office of chief, but very few of those who have this knowledge show at the same time the necessary qualifications for the post. Today not one chief remains, but there are still shamans of greater or less efficiency and prestige; and since this job represents no public function but rather a personal and private one, there are bands with more than one shaman. The Tukuna term for shamans is dyu'vịta. The origin of their art is given as follows.

When auẽ'mana was two years old, she used to cry a great deal during the night. Her mother became angered by this and expelled her from the house, closing the door. auẽ'mana wept alone in the yard the whole night until a *cunaüaré* toad[2] came and carried her off. She remained in his company until she became a young girl, learning from him all the magical arts, from killing to curing by suction. Later she returned to live among men in order to practice magic. Many learned the art she taught; theretofore magic was unknown.

auẽ'mana grew very old and, when her physical strength deserted her, she asked some girls to prepare her food; but these refused because they did not like her. Then during the night, while they were sleeping, auẽ'mana extracted their leg bones from their bodies. The next morning they saw her seated beside her fire eating the marrow of the bones, since this was her only food. However, the girls could no longer get up.

When this became widely known, the people slew auẽ'mana, cutting her neck with a stone knife. She caught the blood that ran down, in her cupped hand, blew it toward the sun, and said: "ʊ:u ta'ta pẽ gị na ñe'ẽ pẽ ãʊ a'ẽẽ!" ["The soul enter into thee, also!"] Since then, the soul of a victim enters the body of the killer.

This legend shows that between the sorcerer who inflicts disease and the curing shaman who removes disease, there is not that essential difference to which Tessmann refers.[3] According to him, the Tukuna name for the curer[4] is "dyo'wue"[5] and for the sorcerer "nokewue," a name which I have never heard and cannot explain. Once in a great while I have heard the sorcerer called dyʊv|k|, but k| means only "person," and in general the term dyʊ'vịta is employed for both kinds of shaman. The shaman may kill one person and cure another. The fact that he possesses, among other magical attributes, the power of *espinhos*, "thorns," does not mean that these are all he uses; on the other hand, if he does not possess this power, he may acquire it at any time. One may constantly observe that among the Tukuna no shaman is ever free from suspicion.

Source of power.—Magical powers of the shamans stem from their relations with tree spirits (nai[6] ar| ma:'ṅ). These trees have nothing to do with those whose souls (naa'ẽ), as we have seen (p. 57), roam the night in the form of a spotted jaguar, puma, dog, or agouti. Luckily, not all trees have spirits; otherwise, clearings could not be made, since the planter must spare spirits' trees on pain of being shot by

[1] Bates, p. 401.
[2] *Hyla venulosa;* T., ẽ'pivẽ.
[3] Tessmann, pp. 562, 563.
[4] The word used is *curados*, but the sense indicated is *curandeiro*, "curer."—Trans.
[5] T., dyʊ'vịta; see above.—Trans.

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the spirits' arrows. Also, the spirits of dead trees may be present anywhere in the neighborhood and wound those with whom they collide. A person with an overheated body feels the arrow wound from a spirit as a fillip with the fingertips. This is the supposed cause of some deaths, due ultimately to the malefactions of some shaman. The most dangerous tree of all is the *caapi cipó* (*Banisteria* sp.), which the Tukuna know only by its Peruvian name of *ayahuasca*, sometimes corrupted into čučuva'ču. It is strange that they are unaware of the plant's qualities; because of this ignorance they do not prepare from it any narcotic, as do the neighboring Indians. Thus, they know that the Kokáma possess a plant which produces visions; but only one Tukuna, now deceased, learned from them its use as a narcotic, and he did not pass the knowledge along to anyone else.

According to my informants, the chief Domingos čʉ'nekị, a curing shaman (p. 65) had a different method of stimulating visions. There is a cultivated tree with small, white, calycine flowers which, when broken open, exhibit a liquid. Placing drops of this in his eyes, čʉ'nekị succeeded in seeing the demon dyë'väë (see p. 120), as well as other demons (ñɔɔ'), and the tree spirits; he could also discover his enemies. Other trees possessing spirits are the kapok, *sumahuma*, whose spirit is identified with the forest demon Caapora of the lingua geral, the *manixy* (?), the *açacú* (*Hura crepitans*), the muirapiranga, the *ucuhuba* (*Virola* sp.), and a tree which reaches at the most a diameter of fifteen centimeters and is called in Tukuna na'iˢ-ya-dyʉ'ị, that is, "shaman log." Its wood has an odor similar to that of laurel, and the soil around its trunk is always barren.

Instruction of a shaman.—Any person who wishes to become a shaman must be placed in contact with the spirits of the trees by another person already initiated. Some shamans begin to educate their sons when the boys are six years old. Usually, however, the aspirant betakes himself to a master of recognized fame, whom he pays for instruction. This teacher begins only after sunset. Within only two months' time the disciple (nyëna'rịkatị) possesses the most necessary knowledge for curing through suction and by the application of herbs or other medicinal substances.

During this period of instruction he must abstain from sexual intercourse and must follow a diet, eating only certain fishes (cachorra, trahira, sardinha, curimatá, caraúacú vermelho, and jejú, but no scaleless fish) and green bananas, taking care that these last are straight and not curved as they usually are. Among birds especially recommended to him are macucáua (*Tinamus* sp.) and *tangurupará* (*Monassa* sp.). All of his food must contain very little salt; he should completely abstain from pepper, fats, sweets, and alcoholic beverages and should also avoid exposure to the sun.

Initiation is in two parts: in the first, the master presents to the disciple a portion of the magical substances in his body; in the second, he places him in contact with the spirits of the trees. The disciple is specially prepared for the initiation; he must drink a gourdful of tobacco infusion so as to vomit all impurities (puya) acquired through sexual contact; after which he must wash out his mouth. The infusion leaves him in a state of narcosis. The master, by massaging his own body, directs toward his mouth all the magical substances which he possesses, vomiting them in the form of slime (ta:'kaka; l.g., *tacacá*, a beverage of manioc starch). Holding the slime in the palm of his hand, he shows this to the disciple, inviting him to

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choose [the powers he desires]: "Do you want these two?' They are good ones. Or those two? They are bad ones. Or these others?" The disciple swallows the ones chosen.

On the following day the master teaches his pupil the songs of the tree spirits, and at night asks one of them to visit the pupil. It comes to him in a dream in human form, about the size of a four-year-old child, and hands the dreamer a small gourd with a tobacco infusion, which he drinks. Then the spirit asks him what he wishes, and the disciple indicates his desire to have the spirit as an assistant. Then the spirit sings his song (na'aë), which the novice learns and sings after the visitor's departure.

When this initiation is completed, the master does not fail to advise the learner in forceful and energetic terms never to abuse his acquired powers but to employ them exclusively against "our enemies," that is, against evil sorcerers, so that he will not, beneath the cudgels of avengers, die before his time.

Witchcraft through "thorns".'—However, for a shaman the temptation to employ his acquired powers against any object of private disaffection is great and, if the new shaman has not already received any magical substances (ta:'kaka) of evil effect, he asks one of the spirit trees that possess thorns, especially the pupunha palm and the açacú, for them. At the foot of one of these trees he clears a spot, and on it he places a small gourd with a cigarette rolled in the inner bark of tauarí lying across the top. The following morning he finds in the pot the ta:'kaka, which contains (in an altered state) the thorns requested; this he swallows. The thorns, the sorcerer's "arrows," are placed on his right forearm; the "bow" is his left forearm.

Even so, the sorcerer does not shoot his projectiles with the motion of an arrow release. Going alone into the jungle after sunset, he concentrates the magic substances on his right thumb, and, giving a flick with the thumbnail placed beneath the nail of the third finger, he speeds the thorns on their way toward the victim. Some shamans, as far as can be ascertained, vomit the ta:'kaka, afterward throwing it with the hand. The thorns, always male and female, penetrate the body of the bewitched invisibly, and usually insensibly; there they meet and reproduce in great numbers, spreading throughout the entire body via the bloodstream, corrupting it and causing death, unless a competent person intervenes in time.

The sick person has recourse to a shaman, whose first care is to see in a dream the perpetrator of evil. Afterward, by feeling the patient he locates the thorns and extracts them by sucking. A treatment with vegetable medicines completes the cure (see p. 23). The medicinal properties of many plants are general knowledge, and they may be used by anyone; it is only hoped that the shaman may have more extensive knowledge of them.

Occasionally the Tukuna employ a curious medicine to provoke vomiting. In the igapós of their territory, a tree frog (*Phyllomedusa* sp.; T., ba'kɔrɔ, in imitation of the croak) is found fairly frequently, which has a vivid green back, a whitish belly, and on its flanks a slime of soapy consistency that disintegrates in water. The creature moves extremely slowly, hence it is easily captured. The Indians

[a] Magical substances are always in pairs, male and female.

[b] *Espinhos:* lit., "thorns," "boils," "afflictions." After examination of the context, I believe that "thorns" is the best term.—Trans.

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Nino and Christovão did not stop at home but, without eating or speaking to anyone, immediately left together on a hurried trip to Igarapé de Belém in search of a certain shaman for the purification the situation demanded. Hippolyto, however, weak from his long illness, arrived home so exhausted that he was again prostrated for days, incapable of following his uncles. The latter, after battling the strong currents of the Solimões all day, entered the Igarapé de Belém on the seventh. They should not have eaten anything before submitting to the purification rite, but their strength began to fail them, so they comforted themselves with a little farinha d'agua they had, eating it with spoons fashioned from leaves in order to prevent the soul (naa'ẽ) of the murdered man from entering their bodies with the food. If they had shed blood, they would also have used a stick to scratch with, instead of their fingernails, since, if blood is shed, the slayer's body becomes full of invisible blood. They did not converse during the trip, but spoke occasionally to a tree or to an ant nest as if these were people, saluting and taking leave of them and leaving them a bit of food, as if they were members of the family. Had they not followed such procedure, the soul of the slain would have entered the body of someone in the slayer's family.

Finally, they approached the residence of the shaman Geraldo, of the ɲɔ̃' clan (red macaw clan), whom Nino as a member of the same moiety addressed as ma'i"ẽ, "brother" (p. 59). Showing themselves to him from afar and signaling, they made Geraldo realize that something extraordinary had happened, so he immediately went to meet them and asked what had occurred. They answered in a few words in a low voice, and he ordered them to draw the canoe ashore a bit farther ahead. Geraldo, returning to his house, bade his daughters scrape genipapo and prepare food, saying to them: "They did a turn for all of us; they killed our enemy!"

Then he joined the two men, ordered them to squat before him, and, passing his hands over them from the heels to the crown of the head, removed from them the soul of the slain, joined it together in front of them, and hurled it away, saying: "Go away! We have done this to you because you were the enemy of everyone!" Then he gave each man three peppers to eat and finally painted them with genipapo, which he had already brought on top of some leaves. He led them to the house, gave them food, and bade them farewell. Spurred by anxiety for their families, who had been left hiding in their plantations, the two again left for the Igarapé da Rita, where they arrived the morning of June 9.

As stated above, Hippolyto could not accompany the others on the trip they made in order to purify themselves, and he treated himself as best he could. Under these circumstances, the slayer, feeling the dead man's soul squeezing his heart, must for two months drink a brew made from pupunheira root (*Gulielma* sp.).

Meanwhile I was attending a puberty ceremony celebrated in a house half a league up the mouth of the Igarapé da Rita, on the Solimões, where some other guests informed me of the event. After the feast I went down to the settlement of Santa Rita, where the Neobrazilians told me with evident satisfaction that "the Indians of the igarapé had all fled." I at once entered this tributary, where I found all the Indians except the family of old Custodio, who had actually fled but later on returned at my invitation. From place to place the Indians accompanied me, increasing in number at each stop, until we were all gathered at Nino's house,

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861 More than among other tribes, *Tucuna* children receive corporal punish-
824 ment, especially with the external application of nettle flowers that are grown for this purpose at the edge of the yard. They play with dolls
524 carved of muirapiranga, figures of animals, little canoes, small bows and arrows, and buzz-disks of gourd shells.

173 **Boys' puberty observances.**—There is a tradition that in former times,
881 young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (tá/ki) through an application of snuff called ká/vi, which is still used occasionally.

114 There are no vestiges of homosexuality, as claimed by Tessmann (1930,
838 p. 563).

881 **Girls' puberty rites.**—At her first menstruation, a girl is secluded in the house loft. This is not so cruel as certain travelers (Bates, 1863, 2:406)
[114] proclaim. Every girl submits willingly, convinced that her peculiar condi-
[626] tion requires it and that its omission would be dangerous, as she is surrounded by invisible "immortals" and demons, who seek contact with her and at times cause extraordinary supernatural experiences. Many stories told to a girl in seclusion illustrate this dangerous state.

[342] The people hasten to prepare for the girl a circular seclusion room adjacent to the east or west wall of the house, according to her moiety.
[532] They decorate the walls with painted bands and lines, and figures of the sun, moon, morning star, and deer, the last a symbol of vigilance and not a "totem."

[262] Preparations for the feast sometimes require months. They prepare roast meat and beverages and make the house ready. The girl's father is host, but her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies concerning
[574] her person, being wholly responsible for her. Friends and acquaintances
[202] receive two invitations to the feast; the second, which specifies the date,
[534] is issued to the sound of the bark trumpet, which is carried hidden in the canoe.

In the exterior portion of the house, corresponding to the girl's seclu-
[534] sion room, a long fence is made with straw walls to conceal the megaphone (tá/ki), its statues, and the bark trumpet which operate behind it each night of the feast and are removed before daybreak and hidden underwater in the creek. People are chosen and invited to operate these instruments by the head of the house when the time comes; there is no permanent assignment. Inside the fence of the megaphone, snuff (ká/vi) or tobacco
[276] powder is taken with several ingredients (but not parica). The snuff is kept in a snail shell and blown into the nose by means of an apparatus made of a tubular bone and two quills of royal sparrow hawk feathers, or by means of a simple taboca (bamboo) tube. Boys of 7 or older cus-
[562] tomarily are given snuff, after which they may see and touch the instru-
[858] ments within the fence, which are taboo to women and to boys who have not yet had it.

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The master of the hut then addresses the stranger, and in the hollow sepulchral tones peculiar to the Ticunas, asks, "Who are you?—Where do you come from?—Are you friend or foe?—What brings you here?" The stranger satisfies these inquiries one after the other; or, more frequently, his visit having only a commercial aim, is content to answer by exhibiting the articles he brings, and which he desires to exchange for the products of Ticuna industry. The arms are then cast aside in order to discuss the value of the goods offered and those wanted; it will be readily understood that the discussion is intermingled with numerous requisitions on the caïsuma. The articles of Ticuna industry consist of yucca-flour, blowing-pipes, hammocks, hunting-poison, and coarse cotton goods.

Some young girls with short-cut hair whom we had noticed among the Ticunas led us for a moment to believe that they shared the custom of cropping with the Yahuas; but the information we obtained on this subject disabused us of the notion. The cropped pate of these young girls was only the visible sign of their having attained the age of puberty, and was the complement of the mysterious practice which the tribes of the Plain of Sacramento, and notably the Conibos, call *Schébianabiqui*. The Ticunas name it *Ihiéboah*, an expression which is less humorous than the other, and which may be translated "young girl," from *ihié*, woman, and *boah*, child.

After translating the word, it remains to describe the custom itself.

When the matrons find that a female child has attained puberty, they take possession of the young girl, conduct her in a procession to a hut built in a lonely place for the purpose, shut her up in it after providing some food and a vessel of water, and then leave her for forty-eight hours, the victim of *ennui* or her reflections. At the expiration of this time the matrons come to deliver their prisoner; but before giving her complete liberty, they rub her head with the milky juice of a *ficus*, which instantaneously coagulates, and forms, under the rotatory motion of the palms of their hands, a multitude of little balls, within which is entangled the hair of the young girl. These little balls, which the matrons snatch away one by one for amusement, tear away the hair with them, and make the patient scream with pain; two musicians, with their backs to the entrance of the hut, play an accompaniment to this proceeding on the flageolet and tambourine.

When the head of the victim has been thus completely stripped, the women cover it with a hood of yellow feathers, the shape of which reminds one of a species of toadstool (*Boletus*); in the centre of this is fixed a plume of feathers from the tail of the ara. Thus accoutred, the young girl, frightened and crying, is first led round the village, and then conducted in succession to the river-side and the forest, continually followed by the matrons, who whip her roughly with green boughs in order to harden her against the trouble to come.

After several hours of wandering in this manner, and an indefinite number of draughts of caïsuma which the young girl is forced to drink, they introduce her into a hut where a new hammock has been slung for the purpose. Utterly broken down with fatigue, drunkenness, and the switchings so unsparingly administered, she tumbles into the swinging net and immediately falls into a profound sleep. In the meantime, the assembled nation celebrates, with games and a remarkable consumption of fermented liquor, the Ihiéboah fete.